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835 small one. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
845 cried to go places, she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry."

835 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
861 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
155 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child may be placated and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

855 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
865 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable rages may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my attention, although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or apparently hungry. The tantrums usually disappear before the child is five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages of seven and nine still had acute rages whenever they found themselves deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the evening meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of aroused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
[illegible] who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sudden surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few cases of constructive touching, outside of purely physiological controls, that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
● 596 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
159 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Talfani, for instance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

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uterine uncle, to emphasize his point, picked up Taifoni and started back to his village with her. The father flew into a rage and the child was fought over by the two men. When the father finally secured the child, he held her tightly in his arms all morning. Taifoni's care had been primarily entrusted to her maternal grandmother, and when the grandmother finally left with her brother, the child wept so insistently to go with her that the father, with obvious reluctance, finally surrendered the child.

There was a similar situation when Nicolas divorced his first wife, by whom he had two sons, one about five years old and the other approximately two and a half. The father had had very little contact with the children, since he was away most of the time. On the other hand, for an Alorese parent, the mother had been particularly indulgent and fond. At the time of the divorce there were days of violent and public recrimination between the parents, which ended finally in the surrender of both children to the father and the departure of the mother to a distant village, where she was to marry another man.

Obviously all children are not exposed to such potentially traumatic and affectionally disorienting situations, but practically no child escapes being witness to such occurrences. In the autobiographies there are a number of anecdotes demonstrating the skill children develop in playing one parent off against the other. The result of all this must be that the child is robbed of a sense of security and stability by being deprived of the opportunity to form a pattern of stable relationships.

RESIDENCE

Mobility of residence is another factor that may contribute to a child's sense of instability. During early childhood such a sense of instability may begin to take form and it will be emphasized by later repetition. The autobiographies give the most graphic picture of constant moving from house to house, village to village, and village to field. It is true that these moves are always within a circumscribed orbit. The result may be that a person becomes familiar with a landscape rather than with a residence.

Alorese houses are perishable. A field house rarely lasts more than two seasons. A village house of the fala type may last five or six years, a lineage house (*kadang*) somewhat longer. No one place of residence is customarily occupied for any great length of time. Even within the yearly agricultural cycle a family is apt to move back and forth between a village house and a field house.

The child's escape from irksome home life by changes of residence

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form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*hieting*). He brings a small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and dispenses of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast.

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they occurred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Actually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones. Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of any female kin he calls *vi mayos*, i.e., female child. This includes all his nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called dowries (*mooling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also is called a *vi mayos*. In this case the term means a male child through a female kin. Such a *vi mayos* may ask his mother's brother for financial help (*mooling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of these bride-price-dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in this connection.

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the *kafuk* and *paloth vernas* the *mooling* and *fila* payments. As a rule the *pongbe* and *sengpon* exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such financial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on memory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments against dowry payments.

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fenton's eavesdropping offers a nice example of such a situation.

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de-

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584 tract from their pleasure in the recitation of the exchanges. Also, the
longer the marriage has lasted, the more elaborate will be the financial
182 reckonings—a factor that helps to stabilize marriages. Theoretically,
584 and almost always in practice, the bride-price exceeds the dowry, so
that the woman's family is in a debtor position. This too serves as a
check on facile divorce, since a woman's kin must be able to repay the
bride-price. On occasion a woman will be caught in a marriage from
which she cannot extricate herself because male kin cannot, or will not,
come to her support. Under such circumstances the only solution for
[37] her is to find a second husband who will pay back her first husband the
owed bride-price. This is generally possible, but the case of one young
woman caught in a strange village with a husband she did not like and
whose male kin were unsympathetic is worth repeating.

583 The girl had married a man from a distant village who paid her
father an unusually large bride-price, amounting to more than three
mokos worth about eighty dollars. The girl went to join her husband
but refused him sexual privileges. This is quite customary at the begin-
ning of marriage, so the husband was not too impatient. After a month,
[38] however, one night when she left the house to relieve herself he fol-
lowed her and raped her. Another source of friction was that she
wanted to cultivate a field near the village but he and his brothers in-
sisted that she work in a distant field where she professed to be in dan-
ger from wild pigs. After a few months of quarreling she ran back to
her own village to live with her maternal uncle who had brought her
up. Her mother had died when she was young and when her father re-
married she had been taken into the household of the uncle.

584 Her father was greatly annoyed at the rupture in the marriage, par-
ticularly since he had given so far very little dowry on her. However,
the husband forced the father into a repayment of all but a thirteen-
dollar-and-fifty-cent moko that the father refused to return until the
husband returned a five-dollar moko of the dowry payment. This
the husband refused to do because of a financial dispute as to precisely
what was owed. The girl's uncle too was angry because he had been
given no share in the bride-price, so that he refused to repay the hus-
band and complete the divorce. The girl, on her side, refused to find
another spouse who would assume her financial commitments. Both of
her male kinsmen were furious with her for what they considered her
unreasonable behavior. The father in his anger had taken back a shawl
he had given her, and the uncle refused to pay for a seer who would
counteract the poison that the girl said her husband had directed against
her. She had been ill for several months, a condition she attributed to

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the poison her husband had made over a piece of areca-nut shell she had discarded. The young woman, when I saw her, was depressed and ill. She apparently felt herself in an impasse. 586

Cases of this sort are relatively rare. Women as a rule are too valuable to go begging in this fashion, and anyone with enough vigor and maturity can get herself out of such a dilemma, as reference to the autobiographies will show.

ENTERING MARRIAGE FINANCE

So far this discussion of marriage has been primarily concerned with its formal structure, its influence on stabilizing relationships, and the position in which it places women in relation to their male kin. How a young man enters the financial game, with marriage and sex as motivations, needs some elucidation. The mode of entry presents a wide range—from those young men who are on good terms with wealthy fathers willing to set them up in marriages agreeable to them, to those young men who have no solicitous kin willing to, or able to, assist and who must break into the system through their own initiative. 584

The situation of the young man whose way is smoothed by the cooperation of a willing father needs little elaboration. The men's autobiographies set this picture in part. It is worth noting that elder kin are often genuinely concerned about procuring a wife for a young man. If a youth becomes involved with a woman, her relatives may precipitate a public scandal and force a marriage. This places the boy's elders at a disadvantage in bargaining. However, the case of a young man who opposes his father's choice and that of a young man who must make his way unaided may be illustrated in two incidents given here in some detail for the light they throw on human relationships. 554

Atumau was a young man of about seventeen whose elderly father, Motikaliera, had found it financially convenient about a year before to accept as partial payment for a debt a friend's immature daughter, who was to become the wife of his son. Atumau resented the girl because as his age-mates said, "He wants someone who is old enough to sleep with." The matter had been in abeyance for about a year, but in a house-building feast in which the old father was a partner, the young girl was sent with a food contribution in her own right. This constituted a sort of public declaration of the validity of her marriage. When she arrived on the dance place, Atumau flew into a rage and knocked her basket of food to the ground, saying she was not his wife and had no right to contribute food. 431 539

The father was angry and turned on his son, who then openly re- 524 543

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462 The result of this attitude is to permit, even if it does not actually
549 encourage, each sex to control the other's techniques of livelihood. This
736 gives the sexes an actual economic independence of each other which is not apparent in a theoretic formulation that appears to set up a complementary cooperation making for mutual dependence. It is quite possible, and is indeed a not infrequent practice, for single men and women to get along quite ably on a subsistence and minimal prestige basis. I have in mind, for example, a divorcée with two children who not only had ample means of subsistence but had accumulated gongs, cowries, and pigs equal to those of most of the poorer men. There were widowers and temporarily deserted men who managed quite nicely alone. The single man is perhaps at a disadvantage compared to the single woman, since he has seldom had the same training in industry and since his cultural status at best requires that he do little physical labor except communally. In fact, men living alone are often the subject of surreptitious gossip which accuses them of living by poaching on neighboring fields and livestock.

[illegible] When the interpretation of this attitude is extended to its fullest, it
[illegible] seems to be associated with the strongly rooted theory and fact that women are the providers of food. In addition, after an open quarrel in which divorce is threatened, the chief or the tumukun will often read the couple a moral lecture in which the wife is urged to be a mother to the man and the husband is urged to be a father to the woman. The conjunction of these two factors, the wife as provider of food and as mother, becomes indissolubly linked not only with each other but with experiences of early childhood. This image of the wife as the mother-provider was given perhaps extreme expression by Fantan the Interpreter, who was trying to explain the significance of the marital relationship from this angle. He said, "Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives 'mother.'"

586 In many cases this sentiment is more the expression of a hope than a reality. The mother is indeed the provider, but as we have seen she is an uncertain and unreliable figure. It is not surprising that even though the whole weight and prestige of the masculine-controlled finance acts to stabilize marriage, Atimelangers average about two divorces apiece. When one considers the elaborate ritual involvements and the cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce, the figure seems high.

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This quantitative statement becomes slightly more meaningful when broken down as follows:

	Males	*Females*
Number of cases examined	111	140
Adults who have never married	14	0
Adults who have at some time contracted a marriage	98	140
Contemporary widows and widowers	3	25
Additional wives		13
Married adults who have never been divorced	49	93
Divorces among those remaining	49	47

Some of the significant facts apparent from these figures are that there are twenty-eight more women than men in the community. This indicates a higher mortality among men since out of 108 recorded births the sex ratio was 1 to 1. However, despite the surplus of women, because of plural marriages, there are no women who have never married, whereas, because of the financial difficulties of men in contracting marriages, there are fourteen men who have not. Parenthetically it should be noted that of these fourteen all but one are young and still hope to contract marriages. Women seem to be definitely at an advantage in the matter of acquiring a spouse.

In marriages, however, the expectancy of women to lose a spouse through death is higher than for men. On the other hand, the expectancy of rejecting or being rejected by a spouse is one to three for women, whereas it is one to two for men. In other words, these figures suggest that men are less secure than women in terms of the voluntary dissolution of marriage. Might this, in conjunction with other factors, mean that men feel emotionally less secure in marriage?

One more comment should be made concerning these figures. They probably understate the actual expectancy of broken marriages, since despite repeated checking there were undoubtedly instances that were forgotten by the several informants consulted. Furthermore, many of the adults listed were still young and had not yet run their full course of marital readjustments.

If the diagnosis of personality formation so far has been correct, the marital relationships here described are not surprising. Most men are searching for a mother-provider whom experience has taught them they are unlikely to find and toward whom, therefore, they feel much latent hostility. On the other hand, the women have had little in their own childhood experiences to give the stability and security men seek to find in them. Quite apart from such genetic explanations, which are only probable, there is little question that once again a descriptive linkage exists between sex, wealth, and food.

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090 So far the discussion of marriage has stressed in large part social forms, their possible repercussions on behavior, and their relationship to personality formations. It may be pertinent at this point to insert certain information on the Atimelangers' more intimate sex behavior and their ideas of procreation.

§33 It is very common for groups of young people, who are beginning
091 to take gardening seriously, to congregate in field houses and live together more or less consistently for days or months at a time. This is an accentuation of "playing house" among children. Sometimes an older woman or a married couple is the nucleus of such a group, sometimes a pair of young girls or an orphaned boy. Although everyone vigorously
[33] denies that "irregular" sexual relations occur under these circumstances, it is perfectly obvious from the autobiographies that they sometimes do. Strict parents usually insist that their daughters return to the family home at night. The absence from the home at nightfall of young or adult men is rarely questioned, but the absence of women and children often leads to a shouted inquiry as to their whereabouts. It is one of the frequent sounds that echoes across the valley as people settle down in their houses after sunset.

§32 Intercourse is solicited of young women by touching their breasts. A common euphemism for intercourse is "to pull a girl's breasts," since it is supposed that no woman can avoid being aroused by such a caress or would be able to resist a man who approached her in this fashion. Opportunities for this sort of approach are offered at dances and in the roughhousing that occurs among young people when they are away from their elders. In describing this situation one young man said, "Our hands move about at random and touch a girl's breast. That makes her spirit fly away, and she has to sleep with a man." If what has been said about early childhood experiences and about the role women are expected to play is correct, it is not surprising that most erogenous feeling
[31] centers on women's breasts. For a woman to touch a man's genitals is considered completely shameless. A less drastic form of soliciting intercourse is to tug at either a man's or a woman's hand. In marriage people usually wait until they think everyone else in the living room is asleep.
§33 Then either partner may indicate desire by giving his spouse a short, tugging pat anywhere on the body. The woman is supposed to remove her loincloth, since the contact with it would be distasteful to the man.

The position in intercourse is ventroventral with the woman below or with both partners on their sides. Any other position is considered rather nasty. In fact, one divorce was partly precipitated, according to
[34] the wife, by her husband's demands for the dorsoventral position. One

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informant said, "We hear that the soldiers on the coast know how to 586
have intercourse while standing, but we don't understand such things."
Inquiries about fellatio brought negative responses but precipitated the
following folk tale about intercourse through the nostril.

"Long ago men on the Kebola peninsula did not know how to have 539
intercourse with their wives. They did not know that women had 831
vaginas, so they had intercourse with their wives through the nostril. A
man from here had become a slave and was sold to the Kebola people.
The wife of his owner was pregnant from nasal intercourse, and the
husband did not know how the child could be born. He said he would
have to kill his wife, slit open her abdomen, and remove the child. So
the slave said, "All right, I'll do it for you." He went up into the house,
chased all the people away, and took the woman out into the privy,
where she gave birth in normal fashion.

"The slave hid the mother in a large storage basket and gave her the
child to care for. Then he went out and buried a banana stump in a
grave on the edge of the dance place and sacrificed a chicken. The hus-
band asked, "Have you finished burying the dead person?" And the
slave answered, "Yes." He said the child was already there but that the
father could not see it. After three months, when the child could laugh,
the slave took the father up into the house where the mother and the
child were. He said, "Now I shall show you how this is done." Then,
while the father sat there, the slave had intercourse with the woman.
Since then the Kebola people understand how to sleep with their wives,
but there are still some who seek intercourse through the nostril."

Cunnilingus was a definitely shocking idea.* In connection with chil- 833
dren, it was stated that kissing is not known in the area. However,
mouth play involving biting is practiced. Informants report that wrest-
ling and mock fighting is often a preliminary to the sexual act. Night is
considered the proper time for intercourse. Encounters during the day
and outdoors are considered risqué. Women accuse men sometimes of
preferring the latter type of encounter.

Inquiries from various women concerning anal intercourse produced
a rather shocked denial of its existence. Anal birth, however, was re- 844
ferred to quite casually by a few older women but was unknown to
some younger ones. The women who professed to know of such phe-

* Since there is a good deal of prudery about discussing these matters, this in- [89
formation was secured largely from one person, Fannan the Interpreter, after our 124]
relationship had been firmly enough established for me to be reasonably sure he
would answer as honestly as he could. My command of the native language and
opportunities for private conversations with women were not adequate for this
sort of investigation.

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857 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into
economic activities.

155 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on
the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of
the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in
connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are
[867] frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the
paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes re-
prisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolangkaliets
mentions such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the
mouth of a crying child.

155 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor
864 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustra-
tions she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental in-
tercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied
discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This
implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity, its inhibiting influ-
593 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex-
155 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must
therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one
filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating ob-
ject. In view of the systematic way in which the mother teases and
cheats the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first
with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by
[562] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good.
There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of
the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother,
who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continu-
• [586, ous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The super-
837, cilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin
182] in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

855 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character.
185 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the
593 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he
plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers
toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot
be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the sig-
nificance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later
in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely
185 to have a peculiarly hollow inflation. The sexual role of the father,
593 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

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She said it was a chicken to raise, not to eat. Then mother cooked rice and added coconut meat and milk to it for the guests. After Mokolo left, father was angry and hit mother, cutting the side of her face. Mother got a big wound. Then father gave mother a leaf as memorandum [*doli*] and said, "In seven days you pay back my bride-price. We are going to separate." Then father went away and stayed in Dikimpe. In seven days mother went to fetch water and I followed her, crying. I heard people coming from Dikimpe beating gongs. Father came up and said, "This is my child." He had brought a Kafoi chief with him. Father took my hand. I told him I was following mother, who had gone to fetch water. Father picked me up and carried me with him as far as Kokovi. There we met mother carrying water. Father said, "Kokmau, go call your family so we can reckon our debts. If there is a surplus I shall pay it. But in any case I take my child." So mother called her kin in Dikimpe and Atimelang. They all came and reckoned. Father only owed a Maningmauk moko. So the chief of Kafoi said, "Oh, you don't have much of a debt. If you wanted to divorce you could pay it, but the fault is a little yours too; so get a moko and pay a fine for your fault [and don't divorce, was the implication]." So father got a Kabali moko and paid his fine. He shot a chicken to pay the judges. The judges said mother had better go live in Dikimpe with my father. So mother and I moved to Dikimpe to live there with father.

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Once mother planted rain corn and two patches of taro down in the ravine. People kept stealing the corn. We didn't know who they were. So I and Mangma went down there to guard it. Many rats ate it. We slept in a field house up on the ridge above the gardens and all day watched for rats. A bird came; we both shot at it but missed it. In the evening we cut wood and went back up to the field house. We were dozing off when Mangma dreamed that two old men were sitting near by, one on the slope above the house and one below the house. One was a little like his father, Fankaliets. One had a long beard all the way down to his waist. The one who was below said, "Shall we take the house down to the garden below?" Mangma woke up, rubbed my stomach to wake me, and told me about it. Then that night we didn't sleep there. We went to the village. Early in the morning father looked down and saw us on the verandah. He asked why we had come back, so we told him. Father said we were to go back to the garden, make a spirit altar, and feed it. In the afternoon father came with rice and a small chicken to feed the altar. After that we slept again in the

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Time sense a day is the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a status symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences probably helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually conscious and valued in the culture. When older men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

> Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a protective and nurturant one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system acts to stabilize marriage, Alorese have an average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome ceremony negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the hunger experiences of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy this basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so phrased. Individual and village tutelary spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of sweetness who have cultivated a field, wealth-bringing supernaturals, are all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and poorly symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or *moko** must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

* Metal kettle drums used as currency.

583 bridegroom is under repeated pressure from
606 his father-in-law, and his wife as well, to continue the series of agreed payments. A woman's loyalty, especially in the beginning, seems more often to lie with her own family than with her husband, and she may even refuse sexual privileges to a husband delinquent in his payment of the bride price. But the payment in money is not the whole story. There are also bride price and dowry exchanges in fresh foods and in vegetable foods. In fact, the affinal kin are always counted upon as a primary source of contributions whenever a financial enterprise is undertaken. In case
536 of divorce the difference between the bride price
182 and dowry payments to date are reckoned and the difference must be paid back to the husband. Naturally, the longer a marriage lasts, the larger these sums become, with the result that the economic factor helps to stabilize marriages. It might appear at first blush that the Akwesasne women become the pawns in a masculine game of finances, and within limits there is some validity to such estimates. However, not only is the woman valuable as a sex object and the producer of those children who will give one's death feasts, but she is the provider of food. Without a wife a man will have to work for his subsistence, and without her cooperation and good will he will not be able to raise the surplus rice and corn necessary for those very feasts on which his prestige rests. Her powers are very real, even though they are not the ones chosen for social recognition and prestige; and she knows how to use them.

All this account has failed so far to give an idea of how a young man enters upon the financial role he is required to play on a more or less grandiose scale. The case of Seniaka is instructive in this connection.

When Seniaka was about fourteen he began thinking of marriage and the bride price he would have to accumulate. For helping his mother with the hot, hard tasks in the fields his mother and father gave him a piglet, partly as reward, partly to start him on his financial career. Seniaka took good care of it, feeding it regularly until it was large enough to exchange for a five-dollar snake. Unfortunately his father at that time was planning a death feast and high-handedly appropriated his son's pig. Seniaka was furious but helpless. He vowed angrily that he would never again raise pigs, a vow he stubbornly kept for years. Had his father lived, Seniaka might have had his help in buying a wife and his attitude about pig-raising might have had no very serious repercussions. Unfortunately, however, the father died and there was

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